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Capehart vs. Controls — page 5

New Republic

McCARTHYISM

A Duke University professor objectively evaluates the Senator's charges against the State Department

THE QUEEN'S HERITAGE

A report from London on the Constitutional Monarchy

The Case for Acheson:
A Deferential and Discreet Defense

A review by James R. Newman

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Letters

Harold Ickes

● It is with a sad heart that I am writing you to pay tribute to one of America's greatest men.

No words of mine are adequate, but I feel that Matthew Arnold well expressed what I would like to have said:

In such hour of need
Of our fainting, dispirited race,
Beacons of hope yet appear
Weakness is not in your words
Weariness not on your brow.
At thy voice panic, despair, flee away
Order, courage, return.
Eyes rekindle and prayers follow
your steps as you go.

The *New Republic* is a comfort to troubled minds.

Philadelphia, Pa. A. J. LATHAM

● I am writing to express a deep sense of loss in the death of Harold Ickes. It is a great loss, not only to *New Republic* readers, but to the country as well.

Mr. Ickes' articles were superb; his recent one, "First Precept, Then the Ax," should be required reading for President Truman, his cabinet and all department heads.

If you have any influence in seeing that any Ickes' memoirs going on from the early period at which his autobiography ended are published, I sincerely hope you will use it.

Greenville, S. C. MRS. E. C. THOMAS

The 1952 Campaign

● If the present candidates are narrowed down to Taft versus Truman in November, the people won't have much to choose between.

President Truman has lost the respect of many Democrats, not because of a smear campaign put on by the GOP but because of his blind loyalty to Vaughan, McGrath and other old cronies. . . .

If we all urged Justice William O. Douglas to run, I feel that democratic peoples all over the world would rejoice.

Walnut Creek, Calif. TOM KENDALL

● In the February 4 issue T.R.B. reports that Adlai Stevenson's friendly critics say that he is "too quiet and intellectual." Yes, Governor Stevenson is "quiet" but as Abraham Lincoln was quiet, and (in another occupation) Kurt Carlsen is quiet. As for his being 'intellectual," I think that that is one of his greatest assets second only to his honesty. And although he does not have 100-percent "dynamism," those of us who saw him stumping the state in 1948 will have to admit that he has a great amount.

Washington, D. C. M. N. WEBER

● In the column of Joseph and Stewart Alsop of recent date appears a compiled list of possible appointees to Taft's cabinet in the gruesome event he is elected President. In the coming of such event many of us would say fervently: God forbid. There can be little doubt that the names associated are appropriate.

The amendment and extension of the list seems to offer some interesting possibilities. For instance, to add a bipartisan flavor which some opinion holds Taft lacks, we may submit Martin Dies, Gene Cox, Kenneth McKellar, Harry Byrd, Pat McCarran and Jim Farley. Going farther afield, Chiang Kai-shek, Franco, Peron and that Grand Mufti might be included. These are probably unconstitutional but Taft should not feel disturbed on that account, since his regard for the Constitution, especially where it is supposed to safeguard human rights is something less than reverent.

Salem, Ore. H. M. STRYKER

Catholics and Liberalism

● As a subscriber and interested reader of the *New Republic*, I am writing to protest the article appearing in your January 7 issue entitled "Liberalism: A Catholic View."

It seems to me that any article with a religious bias should not appear as an editorial in a supposedly liberal publication but rather in the letters column. My belief is that there are few, if any, good Catholics who are real liberals and that the Catholic organization as a whole is reactionary and where given a chance will dominate by force if necessary to bring outsiders in line. An example of this is the situation now prevailing in Montreal, Canada, at the present time. Catholic majorities have enacted laws forcing merchants to close in observance of Catholic religious holidays. A large number of them refused and were prosecuted for it and the case is now being appealed.

I would question the writer's contention that to accomplish its real purpose liberalism must have religious dogma as a background or basis. I have no figures to support any factual statement so I will just state that in my opinion there would be more liberal atheists and free thinkers than there are liberal religionists put together. In this connection, I wonder if you would give as much prominence to an article written on the same subject by a free thinker or atheist? I would be very interested in an article of that kind just to balance up the one entitled, "Liberalism: A Catholic View."

Detroit MAURICE G. LEE

● In your January 7 issue, Vincent J. Giese wrote on "Liberalism: A Catholic View." He has a very pat formula: Christian—Roman Catholic; non-Christian—non-Roman Catholic. Mr. Giese shows, in this formula, why it is that freedom and justice should no more be given into the custody of the Vatican state today than they should have been during the years of the Inquisition.

Detroit, Mich. FRANK E. HARTUNG

Russia's Strategy

● Vishinsky's proposed ban of atomic weapons, without a like ban of all weapons, is likely the simplest of stratagems —divide and conquer.

With poison gas, germ warfare and atomic weapons out of the way, Russia's uniformed and un-uniformed armies would be free to nibble at all of Asia-Africa-Europe.

For greater conquest, the Kremlin would have only to decide whether to

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

The Reluctant Bridegroom

Benay Venuta of television, radio and the screen, and Fred Leonard Clark, TV actor, will be married Friday. It will be her third venture, his first.

"The beginner cursed and swore horribly." – *From the Philadelphia* Bulletin.

Extrasensory Diplomacy

"It's the damnedest thing," one associate remarked, "how Harriman knows facts that no one could possibly have told him. He absorbed them from the atmosphere." – *From the* Reporter.

Poor as Croesus

By some standards Weil (Richard Weil Jr., president of Macy's New York store) is rich, by others poor. His salary is a hundred and ten thousand dollars a year. . . . – *From a Profile in* The New Yorker.

Reveille in Philadelphia

"This is a new day in the police department," Commissioner Gibbons declared. "Patrolmen will patrol their beats. There will be no more loafing in stores or sleeping in red cars." – *From the Philadelphia* Evening Bulletin.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

TAFT FORCES now talk hopefully of "Taft on the first ballot." There is more to this than mere window dressing. The Eisenhower cause hasn't been doing so well. At the big Madison Square Garden rally last week Ike supporters put on a vaudeville show instead of discussing issues. How could they discuss issues when nobody knows where Ike stands except on foreign affairs?

Furthermore, the Gallup poll shows Ike and Taft running neck and neck among Republicans. Taft forces are jubilant. Whatever you say of Taft he has stated his positions on issues: he has already made his enemies. But Ike still stands on a pedestal and is all things to all men. The minute he starts making speeches he must declare himself on controversial issues and take sides. He has all his enemies to make. The fact that he is only even with Taft at this stage, and with such an advantage, seems a major sign of weakness.

At Denver last week Taft was asked by a supporter why newspaper commentators didn't tell the "facts" about China? Taft said some of them were to be criticized but others gave the "facts." Then, of all the columnists in the country, Taft quoted approvingly by name George Sokolsky, favorite of the Hearst-isolationist press.

Taft's campaign is really rolling; it is much broader and deeper than most Washington political writers yet realize. Taft is promising bewildered voters an easier way out of all present difficulties: tax cuts, smaller armies and expenses, no UMT, no sacrifices. At Denver Taft called Douglas MacArthur "our greatest General." Over the nation he is spreading his declaration that Korea was "an unnecessary war" — a "Truman war"; that Truman and Acheson deliberately recalled MacArthur because the latter "wanted to win it" while they didn't. His happy solution for the Asia problem is an American-backed invasion by Chiang's demoralized troops, whom he likens lyrically to George Washington's soldiers at Valley Forge. Taft gets a great hand by promising that, as President, he will not send American boys to fight abroad, then offers the cheerful alternative whose slogan could be "Let the Chinks do our fighting."

The tortoise-pace of truce negotiations in Korea may still carry us to the goal. Truman's intervention in Korea gives him an important place in history despite all his faults. A major precedent is set. The world knows that the US (at least until Taft is President) will not tolerate further direct Communist aggression. It must know, too, that any further such aggression as the Korean attack will almost certainly result not in a limited war but in the third world war of the 20th Century, using America's new small-type A-bombs, and maybe big ones as well. The Korean episode probably rules out a big war occurring through accident or misunderstanding. An advance American example of determination like this could conceivably have forestalled World Wars I and II. It is Taft's place in history to try to take away this gain, cloud its meaning and destroy its usefulness. Taft's demagogic "Never again!" means, translated, that these American boys have died in vain.

This column has felt almost alone in questioning the wisdom of adding more rotten-borough Senators to Congress by granting statehood to Hawaii and Alaska. We much prefer the proposal of able Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) to create a new type of political unit known as "self-governing commonwealths." These would have votes in the House in proportion to population, and no Senators. To be sure, this would take a Constitutional amendment. But wouldn't it be worth it? Alaska is 90 percent owned by the federal government yet its

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140,000 or so inhabitants would have two Senators, or the same as New York State, with 15 million. Under the treaty-ratification provision of the Constitution, whereby a two-thirds vote is required, a "No" vote by Alaska's two Senators would cancel out the possible affirmative vote of New York and Pennsylvania, with 25 million population.

It's amusing to watch Republicans denounce the Presidential proposal to give Newbold Morris sweeping subpoena powers to investigate corruption in government. "Tyranny!" "dictatorship!" is the charge. Yet failure to make such a request would almost certainly have raised the cry "whitewash." The Republicans don't really want the mess in Washington cleaned up; they want to keep it through the election and would greatly prefer to investigate Mr. Morris.

It is a pleasure to report that civilization goes creeping on, sometimes even while our back is turned. The dear old DAR, which said for years that Negro artists could not perform in its Memorial Hall in Washington, has quietly reversed its position. Let it be recorded that Dorothy Maynor, colored, sang with the National Symphony Orchestra last Sunday and that the words which she lifted up had a harmony beyond mere notes and music. One more ugly door thrown back! How many still lie ahead—yes, but look back and see how many have been opened.

Notes: What the allied military chiefs are really doing at Lisbon is revising downward their plan for Europe's defense; they don't seem too unhappy about it, largely because US military potential has increased. . . . Britain won't test its experimental A-bomb in New Mexico but in Australia; Britain feels it must convince Congress it has secrets too, in order to be accepted as a partner to share US secrets. . . . Big Three relations improved as the Faure government won a confidence vote in France, and the foreign ministers reached full, quick agreement in London on a joint post-occupation policy toward Germany.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

use some of the forbidden weapons upon some of the intervenors.

Seattle, Wash. CHET BRYAN

Visa Trouble

● I am an Egyptian citizen having been until recently press attaché at our embassy in Washington and at our Consulate General in San Francisco. . . .

After one-and-a-half years service in the aforementioned diplomatic posts, I decided to continue studying for my doctorate. As I was recalled home last June, I requested a change of visa from diplomat to student. The US Immigration Service in San Francisco accepted my application and advised me to keep my diplomatic visa until the student visa was issued, whereupon I came to Denver to commence graduate study. While here I made a number of speeches concerning the Middle East pact, in support of the Egyptian position.

Two months ago I was arrested by Immigration and advised that I was to be deported, ostensibly for "failing to maintain an exempt status." This, despite the fact that I have never been advised that my visa was no longer valid or that my student visa had been refused.

Some newspapers here have been rather enthusiastic in branding me (at official insistence I suspect) as an anti-British agitator.

In Egypt I was the vice-president of the National Students Union as well as the Secretary of the National Joint Committee of Workers and Students in 1940.

I have been denied practically all privileges, even adequate medical attention and there have been several other breaches of my civil rights. . . .

Denver, Colo. ABEL MOHSEN HAMOUDA

The Struik Case

● The case of Prof. Dirk J. Struik, internationally known mathematician and a member of the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for 25 years, has aroused his fellow citizens of Massachusetts to take decisive action on his behalf.

Professor Struik was indicted on September 13, 1951, for allegedly advocating and conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the governments of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and of the United States of America. The charges were brought under the provisions of an old state law passed as an "emergency" measure in 1919 as a protection against anarchists, then considered the greatest threat to the security of the Commonwealth, and never hitherto invoked. . . .

. . . Costs of the trial alone are expected to run into many thousands of dollars—far more than any but the wealthiest could possibly afford to meet. The need for funds is therefore urgent, and must be met by private donations. We appeal to all freedom-loving people to give to this cause as generously as possible. Contributions may be sent to Mrs. Mary M. Leue, 258 Mt. Vernon St., West Newton 65, Mass., or to Dr. George Sarton, 5 Channing Place, Cambridge 38, Mass.

DR. GEORGE SARTON, Chairman, PROF. WARREN A. AMBROSE, PROF. BART J. BOK, WALDO FRANK, REV. DANA MCLEAN GREELEY, DR. WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, PROF. MARK DEWOLF HOWE, PROF. WITOLD HUREWICZ, PROF. KIRTLEY F. MATHER, PROF. PHILIP M. MORSE, PROF. RALPH BARTON PERRY, NICHOLAS SLONIMSKY, PROF. NORBERT WIENER, PROF. JOHN WILD, MRS. MARY M. LEUE, Secretary-Treasurer.

[The *New Republic* seeks to limit appeals for funds to causes and organizations whose basic objectives we share. While we are in basic disagreement with the views of Dr. Struik, we share the opinion of the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts that he is being prosecuted under a statute tht is unconstitutional. — THE EDITORS]

Correction

● It comes to my attention that you recently published (*NR*, Oct. 22) a statement concerning an address I delivered in Whittier, Calif. . . . I deny having made any of the statements which you attribute to me in that address. Feeling that I might have a faulty memory on this point, I have contacted four persons who heard the address—all of whom would sign a statement to the effect that none of the items mentioned in your report were included in my address. I do not mean to give any wrong impression. I spoke critically of many trends in our country. Some of the statements attributed to my address represent only a few words changed—but that is enough to give an entirely unfair meaning. . . .

I take it that, as a responsible editor, you will welcome this information and see that a correction is published. . . . I have a letter from Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr indicating that his *Christianity and Crisis* will print a correction.

DR. J. W. FIFIELD, JR., MINISTER,
First Congregational Church
Los Angeles, Cal.

[We are indeed sorry that the *NR* correspondent who sent us the report of Dr. Fifield's address, marking the formation of a Freedom Club in Whittier, Calif., misquoted the minister in his speech entitled "Immorality in Government." — THE EDITORS]

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VOLUME 126, NUMBER 8, ISSUE 1943, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 25, 1952

New Republic

"CAPEHARTIZED" CONTROLS

THE REACTION on Capitol Hill to President Truman's message calling for strengthening and extending the Defense Production Act indicates that Congress is receiving little or no pressure to act forcefully against inflation. In a strong statement of the mounting problem which rising prices are creating for the whole economy, President Truman pointed out the consequences if the total price structure is permitted to become "Capehartized." Congress was not moved.

The three principal weakening amendments to the price-control law which Truman is asking to have repealed were added on to the original bill at the behest of the strongest special-interest lobbies in the country. The general refusal in Congress even to consider abrogating this special-treatment legislation demonstrates that in the year and a half since the controls act was passed these pressure groups have lost none of their punch, and unorganized votes have done nothing to add to theirs.

One reason for the general lethargic acceptance of built-in inflation is undoubtedly that the full effect of the vicious Capehart Amendment for automatic price increases has only begun to be felt. Calling this "by far the worst and most damaging provision in the present law," President Truman explained in his message to Congress that "this allows manufacturers and processors to demand and get price ceilings high enough to cover all cost increases incurred between the Korean outbreak and July 26, 1951. . . . Price increases are sometimes necessary to compensate for cost increases. But it is absurd to conclude from this that every cost increase has to be translated in its entirety into increased prices, regardless of whether they are needed."

Prior to the Capehart Amendment, manufacturers arrived at ceiling prices by adding to the price for the base period the increases in their costs for labor and material. Under the Capehart Amendment, they are now permitted to add on to the base price *all* increases in costs up to July 26, 1951—including such items as advertising, selling and administrative expenses. No matter how large their profits are, manufacturers are allowed, under the Capehart Amendment, to pass on to the consumer all their cost increases, even those due to inefficiency. The President reminded Congress:

Our economy never did, and never should, operate on a "cost-plus" basis. By technological progress and increased productivity, and by changes in the volume of production, American business has often been able to hold the price line or even to cut prices in the face of increasing cost. This is a fact of our economic life and one of the sources of strength of the American economy.

But the fact is that today the "cost-plus" system is an established part of our rearmament program. The rise in the request for Defense Department appropriations to almost $61 billion for fiscal 1952 from $48 billion in fiscal 1951 is in considerable part due to this inflation in procurement. If the "cost-plus" escalator is allowed to continue in operation, the proportion of total government expenditures going to the Defense Department will inevitably move upward even beyond the estimated figures of 56.1 percent for fiscal 1952 and 59.9 percent for fiscal 1953, with resultant cuts in civilian expenditures and increases in taxes. And the spiraling effect of the Capehart Amendment still has a long course to run. More than 5,000 requests for Capehart price increases have been received by the OPS, but only hundreds have been acted upon.

The Herlong Amendment, guaranteeing pre-Korean mark-ups to wholesalers and retailers and the Butler-Hope Amendment, prohibiting the use of slaughtering controls on livestock, have added to the weakening influence of the Capehart provision and certainly should, as the President is requesting, be repealed also.

The decline in the price level between January and February is judged by Washington economists as normal for the season of the year and no sign of continued deflation. If, as is expected, the government is running at a high rate of deficit during the second half of the year, the pressure on food prices and the tendency toward deterioration of quality standards in manufacturing will mount. To keep the records of responsibility clear, the President should also have asked Congress to approve a food subsidy program and order the maintenance of quality standards.

In the absence of strong public pressure, Truman's message on controls seems destined to become a campaign document instead of a legislative blueprint. The hope must be that public concern will manifest itself more clearly in votes than it has in pressure on Congress.

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THE WEEK

THE McCARRAN ACT AGAIN

J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Editor of the *Nation*, received extraordinary treatment a few days ago from the US government. Returning from a trip abroad to cover the Paris meeting of the UN Assembly, he was unceremoniously hustled off the steamer and taken to Ellis Island, where he and his wife were held completely incommunicado for 72 hours, not even being permitted to communicate with their lawyer. During this time, Mr. del Vayo was questioned at great length as to his activities during his trip abroad.

At the end of 72 hours, the del Vayos were released "on parole" — whatever that means — with the statement that the Immigration Department would "seek further information" after which Mr. del Vayo would be "questioned again." Meanwhile, as is only too familiar nowadays, he was given no information whatever as to who might have made charges against him, or what these charges might be.

All this would seem to make no sense, legally or morally. Mr. del Vayo, as everybody knows, was Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic during almost the whole of the Civil War. He has been in the US since 1940, and has had the status of a resident alien since 1943, following an exhaustive investigation by the US Government which completely cleared him of any suspicion of being a Communist. He has gone abroad on journalistic missions and returned, every year since 1948, with no questions asked heretofore, and a re-entry permit always promptly issued. He is accredited as a journalist to the UN, a member of the UN Correspondents' Association; under the "headquarters agreement" between the UN and the US State Department, accredited correspondents are supposed to be free from interference.

What caused his astonishing treatment, beyond the bungling ineptitude of the McCarran Act, which is arousing such ill-will to the US throughout the world? We do not know; but it is easy to hazard a guess. The Truman Administration is at present playing "footie" with Franco; and Franco, naturally, would dearly love to get his hands on Mr. del Vayo or failing that, to cause him as much trouble as possible.

PASSPORT POLICY

Sharp criticism of the passport policy of the US State Department is contained in a study by the American Civil Liberties Union made public a few days ago. The authors find that changes in present practices, some of them requiring new legislation, are urgently necessary. The ACLU wants clearly formulated standards to be set up for all cases of refusal of passports; machinery for hearings and review of any denial; and an act of Congress which shall make issuance of a passport mandatory and prohibit its being revoked, except for specifically stated reasons.

The Union recognizes that there are cases where passports ought to be denied; one such would be that of a scientist possessing technical secrets making him liable to kidnap by a hostile power. It questions whether left-wingers should be refused the right to go abroad and say the same things that are permitted to be said, under constitutional guarantees, within the US, though it recognizes the right to prevent conspiratorial activities. The State Department, says the ACLU, should be brought under the Administrative Procedure Act, designed to prevent star-chamber actions, and the passport provisions of the McCarran Act should be repealed. The Union further suggests a special committee of three eminent citizens to examine the whole situation.

Several cases are cited tending to show the administration of the passport department by Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, its head, is often arbitrary and unreasonable. Passports are refused, or are cancelled, on flimsy charges of radicalism, against which the individual has no recourse; sometimes delay is so great that it has the same effect as refusal.

In one instance a naturalized citizen, a free-lance writer living in France, had her passport revoked apparently on the sole ground that she had written unfavorably about the fascist-minded Malan Government in South Africa. A former Trotskyite, now a noted anti-Communist, author of several anti-Communist books, was refused a passport because the State Department apparently could not distinguish between a Trotskyite and a Stalinist, and had never heard of this man's anti-Communist writings of recent years. He was offered a passport if he would prove repentance by revealing the names of his former Communist associates! A professor studying in the Far East on a Fulbright Fellowship had his passport amended to compel him to come home, for no reason of which he was aware.

In an effort to clarify the legal situation, the ACLU has started action in the Federal District Court in Washington on behalf of the first individual mentioned above, Miss Anne Bauer, charging that the action taken against her violates the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees due process of law. Obviously, this whole situation urgently needs the sort of public consideration the ACLU is trying to bring about.

ECONOMY, ECONOMY!

Those Representatives and Senators not already out on the stump are in Washington trying to outdo each other in saying how much governmental expenditures should be cut. Until last week the record was held by Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), who thinks that $7 billion can safely be lopped off President Truman's $85.4 billion request for fiscal 1953. Goaded, Sen. Allen Ellender (D, La.) who had been aiming at a $6 billion cut, reconsidered and announced that

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"maybe we can do better." Then Sen. John McClellan (D, Ark.) announced his goal: $7.5 billion.

Now, however, with the appearance of the "Byrd budget," these inexpert economizers have been put to shame. Sen. Harry Byrd (D, Va.), who is usually extended the Senatorial courtesy of proposing the biggest cut, calls for paring expenditures by $9 billion dollars. The most cuttable item, Byrd thinks, is foreign economic aid. He would like to reduce this expenditure from $2.5 billion to nothing. He would save another $3 billion by cutting all civil expenditures by 30 percent; the military budget of $49.6 billion would be chopped by $2.7 billion.

As all Washington knows, however, this talk will never become reality. Most civilian programs are protected by influential friends in Congress. The Pentagon, even if cut, will go right on spending and ask for that much more next year. If Congress acts true to pattern, what will be most vulnerable to the economizers' meat-ax is the foreign economic-aid program which has no powerful group in the electorate to back it up.

EQUALITY IN TEXAS

AUSTIN, TEXAS (NR Corresp.)

Another milestone in the long march to equal educational facilities for Texas Negroes was passed last week when Oscar L. Thompson of Waco, Tex., became the first Negro graduate of the University of Texas.

Thompson entered UT soon after the Sweatt decision of the US Supreme Court opened the all-white school to Negro graduate students. He graduated with a master of arts degree in zoology after acceptance of his thesis on "A Study of Phenyl-Thio-Carbamide Deficiency in Negro Population in Family Groups." A specialist in genetics, he says that the ability to taste this carbamide compound varies in different races. His study showed that five percent of the Negro population studied had this deficiency, and 30 percent of the whites.

Thompson now plans to look for a teaching job. Unfortunately, there is a shortage of white teachers and a surplus of Negro teachers in Texas, because practically the only professional training open to Texas Negroes before the Sweatt decision was in teaching. Thompson was a Pacific GI during World War II, and graduated magna cum laude from Samuel Houston College, a Methodist school for Negroes in Austin, before entering UT for graduate work.

PROD BY POSTMASTER

The House of Representatives still has taken no action this session to separate airmail pay from subsidy, although six months have passed since the Senate (*NR*, Oct. 1, 1951) passed its half-hearted bill. However, a recent and little-publicized letter from Postmaster General Jesse Donaldson to Rep. Robert Crosser, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which courageously and studiously rips into the Senate bill, may serve to prod the lower chamber.

The Post Office Department is for complete and effective separation. The Senate bill might effect a separation in some instances, but, the Postmaster General wrote Crosser:

> . . . in our view it would permit substantial elements of subsidy to remain hidden in mail pay. Indeed, if the provisions relating to international rates were in effect today, the service rates paid by the Department would be higher in many cases than the current subsidy rates. Further, the Senate bill would prevent the attainment of maximum expedition and economy in the transportation of air mail.

This is exactly what Sens. Paul Douglas, Herbert Lehman and George Aiken told their colleagues last September. But a Senate, thoroughly impressed by the power of airlines to enrich campaign coffers, voted the air lobby the precise bill it had written.

Under the Senate plan service rates cannot be less than the highest price charged by foreign lines; the only ceiling is the Universal Postal Union maximum of $2.86 a ton mile. If the House passed a similar bill, a US line into South America which is now receiving 80-cents-a-ton-mile rate and no subsidy would have its service rate upped to $2.86 a ton mile. Taxpayers would bear the brunt.

Donaldson also took the Senate to task for duplicating rate-making functions between his Department and the Civil Aeronautics Board. It blocks any hope of a "single uniform service rate to be established applicable to all air carriers." and makes the "Post Office Department the captive customer of all air carriers authorized to carry mail," he wrote.

The Postmaster General and others favoring proper separation feel that if the House can be moved to action some of the bonanzas awarded to the airlines in the Senate bill might be overcome. During the 81st Congress the House, through the excellent work of Rep. John Kennedy and John Heselton, both of Massachusetts, passed an excellent bill which died when the Senate took no action.

TRAGIC IRONY

The crash of the National Airlines DC-6 at Newark Airport which brought death to 31 persons, in the third grave air disaster in two months, saw mordant irony mixed with stark tragedy.

Two of the 31 dead were presidents of nonscheduled airlines, currently locked in a survival battle with the scheduled airlines and the Civil Aeronautics Board. C. H. Smith, president of Modern Air Transport, Inc. and H. Scott Chalfont, head of Federated Air Lines, Inc., were bound for Miami. Their attorney, originally ticketed for the scheduled National flight, left earlier on a nonscheduled plane and arrived safely.

PUBLIC-RELATIONS GEM

In the red-draped auditorium of the Bar Association Building on New York's busy 42nd Street, a worthy successor of the early steel barons, Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the giant US Steel Corporation, presented the industry's opening argument before the special panel of the Wage Stabilization Board on the steel wage dispute. It was a shrewdly organized public-relations gem —product of the highest priced talent.

If the CIO Steelworkers are granted their wage-increase demands, said Mr. Fairless, it would not only endanger

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the steel expansion program but would cost the federal government some $11 billion in tax revenue from industry in general.

Mr. Fairless is not a man who deals in details. He has vice-presidents or their assistants to handle such chores. In most hearings he usually motions to the man without bothering to look in his direction. This time it was Horace C. Stringfield, assistant to the vice-president in charge of accounting.

The five wage demands of the Steelworkers, Mr. Stringfield told the panel, would amount to 56 cents an hour and total more than $753 million a year for the basic steel companies. An equal increase would occur, he said, in the cost of purchased goods and services so that the total cost to the industry would be more than $1.5 billion. He assumed that other industries would have to give like increases, costing the federal treasury some $11 billion in taxes.

This was more than the CIO-Steelworker' head Philip Murray could take. He questioned "alleged" costs and said he felt it insufficient to "deal in generalities." Then he smiled in the direction of the six panel members and said: "I am in search of enlightenment for I have found this presentation very, very confusing."

Confusing or not, the nation's press screamed the story of the $11 billion denied the US Treasury. High priced public relations had won another victory.

The hearings before the panel have now been concluded but it is expected that the report to the full WSB will not be ready for 10 days to three weeks. It is anticipated that the earlier strike deadline, originally set for February 24, will now be postponed until this report is made.

IS UMT MILITARISTIC?

The House Armed Services Committee has passed what its powerful chairman, "Uncle" Carl Vinson calls a "bona-fide UMT bill." By-passing the Pentagon's cautious proposal for a voluntary training program for a small number of guinea pigs, the committee went all the way in providing for all 18-year-olds to be put through the six months training period. The hitch is when the program is to go into effect. As it left the committee, the bill empowered either the President or Congress to give the go-ahead signal, but some of its supporters are determined to reserve the choice to Congress. This plan is likely to get a strong backing in an election year. If it is written into final law, the UMT would continue to be a ghost program, at the same time legislatively authorized and legislatively forbidden.

UMT's lingering birth pains are now due to the fact that it is overshadowed by its big brother, the draft. To legislators and the public alike, the choice between siblings has been difficult.

One element of confusion enters over a finding of manpower facts. The Pentagon has all along been arguing that it needs a longer draft service because the manpower pool of 19-, 20- and 21-year-olds is fast being depleted. But in regard to UMT it has to argue that the manpower situation is not so acute after all, and that we can afford to lose the half year of actual service which UMT trainees would have cut off their draft obligation. Army officers and the opposition, mostly educators and church leaders, have been throwing contradictory figures at each other, all of them with some basis of fact.

Another element of confusion in the debate has come from the haphazard application of principle. Most of the opposition argued that UMT was more dangerous than UMS because it is permanent. "UMT," said the spokesman for the Friends Service Committee, "lays a good foundation for dictatorship rather than for democracy. Every important modern country that has become a dictatorship has first had UMT." He was joined by a spokesman for the Methodist Church who said, "Poison does not become democratic because it is administered to everyone alike." One witness said he was against UMT but was willing to continue UMS for 10 years in order to permit the maintenance of a three and one-half million man army. "But *that's* what will lead us to militarism," said Rep. Leroy Johnson (R, Cal.) who thinks UMT is more democratic.

SOCIAL NOTES

On February 1, the Washington *Post* reported:

The Mothers' March of Dimes worker who collected Wednesday night at the Georgetown house of Sen. Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) hit an unexpected jackpot. Besides a $5 contribution from Taft, there was an extra $5 from his dinner guest, Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R, Wis.).

McCARRAN PICKS THEM

Sen. Pat McCarran, unsuccessful in his past attempts to throttle the work of the Provisional Refugee Organization in resettling Europe's displaced persons, is now moving to kill off IRO's successor organization, the Provisional International Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe.

The PICMME, set up by 17 participating governments, has taken over the IRO's ships and organization in anticipation of a long-range job of moving surplus population from countries like Germany, Italy and Holland to new homes, mainly in the Western Hemisphere and Australia.

Acting without direct benefit of McCarran's guidance, the PICMME is currently meeting in Geneva to take over where the IRO left off after resettling one million persons in four years. The new organization still has 115,000 refugees on its hands. To relocate these and begin its real resettlement work, the new group will need an energetic international staff which is not afraid to tangle with powerful interest groups. Top candidate for director is Donald Kingsley, the American who guided the IRO's successful operations.

McCarran, however, has no particular liking for Kingsley. His candidate for the job was Edward O'Connor, one of the Displaced Persons Commissioners. It was after the State Department refused to accede to his choice that McCarran, on January 31, introduced a bill to establish a rival Resettlement Agency, this one to be run by the US alone. His bill provides for a "Director . . . who shall have had at least three years of experience in the field of international migration" and includes McCarran's own version of an international loyalty oath.

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Outside America

HURDLES FOR ATLANTICISM

Swamps of neutralist escapism will have to be drained in West Germany before the 400,000 conscripts Theodore Blank has promised (or threatened) start training on solid ground. Yet it is probable that West Germany will provide most of the men and the bulk of the European-made arms for a European or Atlantic army in Europe. The only questions are when, how, and whether the army will be more German than European or Atlantic.

Such questions do exist, however. While on the other hand, the current doctrine of *ohne mich*—without me—is not likely to be a permanent barrier to General Eisenhower's project of a formal constitutional convention for a united Western Europe. And there is no question whatsoever that West Germany is certain to be the major economic powerhouse if any workable system of such unity is created.

West Germany is already producing more than 430,000 tons of coal a day, and steel at the rate of 15 million tons a year. The Bonn State's balance of payments is substantially in the black, with imports and exports on even keel at about $300 million a month. Its currency has been stabilized. Inflation has been controlled better than elsewhere. The economy of the country is, in the judgment of Konrad Adenauer, as sound as any in Europe. And not surprisingly this is also the judgment of the top men at the American HICOG.

Nevertheless, nearly two million West Germans are unemployed. One-fifth of the population is drawing pensions of one kind or another. One-third of the nation is on the dole. Between a quarter and a third of a million persons live in barracks or huts. For ordinary people, meat is even scarcer than in austere England; and the problem of making ends meet is very difficult.

If this is Adenauer's and HICOG's idea of a sound economy, and if they are right in believing it is as sound as any in Europe, a question or two arise. How can any kind of new, united Europe get the support of the masses of ordinary people if national governments, with the support of American policy, stick to social ideas and economic methods as out-of-date as the political concept of absolute national sovereignty? And how can any Western European unity be created and function without the support of the men who must work in the factories or train on drill grounds?

One of the changes which call for Western European unity is the withering away not only of barriers between nations but also of distinctions between foreign and domestic affairs. The key issue is the adjustment of national possibilities to international necessities and commitments. On ways and means of making the adjustment, there are serious and bitter differences of opinion. Yet any joining together of the Western European nations depends for its effectiveness, not on constitutional conventions or any other arrangements at the top of society, but on achieving domestic political co-operation on all levels and in all quarters in each of the countries. And the hard core of that problem is the fact that the governments of the major European countries do not represent majorities of the voters.

Even Winston Churchill, whose government is now a benevolent supporter — from the sidelines — of European unity, is a minority Prime Minister. In matters of foreign affairs, he may often speak for a majority (except perhaps when he flirts with the American trend to replace containment by a showdown rollback in Asia). But in the domestic affairs which are no longer really on the sidelines of foreign policy, he can less often. The situation of Adenauer is worse: his success in getting the Schuman Plan adopted scarcely reflects his having won wholesale popular support. The situation of Alcide de Gasperi is still worse; though his party is still dominant in Parliament, it is losing strength steadily in the country. And the situation of a French Premier—Edgar Faure or any other likely to emerge from a reshuffling of names and faces—is worst of all. For, as Maurice Duverger points out in the *Monde* of Paris:

> At the present time, the weakness of all French governments results from the permanent disparity between the repartition of tendencies in the nation and their expression in Parliament. The National Assembly is decidedly farther toward the Right than the country it presumes to direct.

It may make relatively little difference that the American team assigned by President Truman to speak for Atlanticism in Europe, headed by Averell Harriman and now seconded by William Draper (that good and close friend of the "sound" German and Japanese industrialists), is much farther to the Right than the rank and file of the Western Europeans. It does, however, make a great difference to the growth of the spirit of Western European unity that the Western European governments are closer in their ideas of soundness to the Harriman team than to their own peoples.

Morever, the Western European unity movement itself has been dominated by the Right. The professed liberalism of spokesmen for the Vatican's "Christian Europe" is pretty pale; and now such arch-reactionaries as Otto of Hapsburg and Franco's Foreign Minister Martin Aratjo are coming aboard.

It was high time, therefore, that Western Europe's democratic Socialists tried to organize to resist such boarding parties. At a meeting in Paris, the decision was taken to "promote a European Left" which would be "the political expression of workers" because "a democratic and Socialist Europe is the only hope of the oppressed masses who want well-being, social justice and peace."

It is a tall order, but even if the movement succeeds only in slowing down the trend toward the Right it will be doing a good and important job. Perhaps the Socialists can do better on the European international scale than they have in the various European domestic contexts—where they haven't built high barriers against *ohne mich*.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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McCARTHYISM VERSUS DEMOCRACY

by Hornell Hart

ONE OF THE remarkable features of Senator McCarthy's phenomenal career is the contrast between the enthusiastic devotion he rouses in some groups of people and the vivid revulsion he engenders in others. This contrast can be made evident by setting up in parallel columns some of the favorable and unfavorable statements made about him during the past two years.

Some Tributes Received by McCarthy

1. The Wisconsin Republican Convention, on June 10, 1950, acclaimed Senator McCarthy's "courage, patriotism and loyalty" and "his unswerving fidelity" in the face of "merciless and unceasing vilification and abuse." They endorsed his "untiring efforts to expose, root out and destroy the treasonable, Communistic, disloyal elements" dominating the Truman-Acheson Administration.

2. Senator Taft praised Senator McCarthy as "a fighting Marine, who risked his life to preserve the liberties of the United States."

3. Senator Taft said: "When Joe McCarthy performed a public service by demanding an investigation of conditions in the State Department, the Administration appointed a hatchet committee headed by Senator Tydings to apply a complete whitewash to the whole smelly situation in the State Department."

4. Senator Ives (R, N.Y.) complimented Senator McCarthy for the "excellent presentation" and the "constructive approach" of his speech in the Senate on June 6, 1950.

5. To Senator McCarthy was awarded the Marine Corps League's National Americanism Award for 1950, for "rousing the nation to the menace of bad security risks in our government." The Veterans of Foreign Wars, on August 30, 1951, applauded wildly when Senator McCarthy attacked Secretary of State Acheson, Ambassador Jessup and other Administration leaders.

Some Attacks Made Against McCarthy

1. Democratic members of the Tydings Committee said, on July 20, 1950: "McCarthy . . . had no facts to support his wild and baseless charges. . . . We call the charges . . . a fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people. They represent perhaps the most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruth in the history of this republic."

2. McCarthy, when he was a Wisconsin judge, was accused of destroying court records which might have incriminated him. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin found that he "violated the terms of the Constitution, the laws of the State, his oath as a circuit judge, and his oath as an attorney."

3. That Senator McCarthy was a "leading and potent force" in the despicable backstreet type of election campaign conducted against Senator Tydings in Maryland in November, 1950, was the unanimous conclusion of both Republicans and Democrats on a Senate subcommittee on August 3, 1951.

4. An editorial in Collier's for August 9, 1951, referred to McCarthy's speech in the Senate on June 14 as "the senseless and vicious charges against Secretary Marshall."

5. Three out of four Washington correspondents voted McCarthy the "worst" US Senator. Correspondents called him "the most ignorant and vicious member of the Senate;" "a shrewd and dangerous exploiter of uninformed prejudice;" "a demagogue who has introduced the technique of the Big Lie to split the country."

Taft's eloquent support of McCarthy, in paragraph 3 of the above left-hand column, moved one commentator to ask: "Just how does one whitewash a smell with a hatchet?"

The Ohio Senator backed Senator McCarthy despite his knowledge that the Wisconsin Supreme Court had found McCarthy "guilty of an infraction of the moral code" and the Senate subcommittee said the McCarthy-like Maryland campaign represented a disregard for "simple decency and common honesty."

The tributes and attacks which are contrasted above are largely emotional. What are the facts alleged on the two sides of the controversy? Some of the most outstanding items are summarized, pro and con, in the following:

Hornell Hart is a professor of sociology at Duke University. He has spent the last several months on a detailed study of Senator McCarthy's charges of Communism.

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Senator McCarthy's Charges	Counter-Evidence [1]
1. On February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, W. Va., Senator McCarthy said: "I have here in my hand a list of 205 . . . names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party, and who, nevertheless, are still . . . shaping policy in the State Department."	1. McCarthy never had such a list. He later admitted that this charge was based on a letter which Secretary Byrnes, *not* Secretary Acheson, wrote in 1946, *not* 1950, stating that 205 persons had been reported as suspected risks, *not* as being members of the Communist Party. McCarthy confessed, on April 21, 1950: "Unfortunately I cannot get the names." (See footnote.)
2. McCarthy telegraphed President Truman that he had a list of 57 Communists in the State Department. On February 10, in his Salt Lake City radio interview, he said: "I want to tell the Secretary of State this, if he wants to call me tonight at the Utah Hotel, I will be glad to give him the names of those 57 card-carrying Communists."	2. In spite of an immediate telegram, and repeated requests from the Department, McCarthy has *never* furnished the promised list.
3. McCarthy told the Wisconsin Republican Convention on June 9, 1950: "I have here . . . photostats showing that the FBI gave the State Department a detailed chart three years ago showing that there were a total of 124 Soviet agents, Communists, Communist sympathizers and suspects in the State Department. . . . Some of these men whom the FBI listed as Soviet agents are still shaping our foreign policy at this very moment."	3. No such chart had ever been prepared by or received from the FBI. A chart classifying possible suspects had been prepared *by a State Department employee* four years before, and had been used by its Security men for a searching and vigorous check-up. No accused employees were retained except after full loyalty clearance, including FBI investigation.
4. "In dozens of cases . . . recommendation from Alger Hiss on the State Department employees was all that was needed to completely clear them," McCarthy said at Chicago on May 6, 1950.	4. Not one specific case of this kind was cited by McCarthy, and the State Department denies that any such case ever occurred.
5. "The documentary evidence shows Ambassador Jessup belonged to five organizations which had been officially declared as fronts for, and doing the work of, the Communist Party," asserted McCarthy on June 9, 1950. In later reiterations of this charge, McCarthy named also a sixth organization.	5. Of the six "Communist fronts" named by McCarthy, two are organizations with which Jessup has had no connection, and two are not Communist fronts at all. His connections with the other two were very slight, and were shared by many other patriotic Americans.

[1] Sources for each of these five pro-and-con summaries: 1. Tydings Committee Report, pp. 1-9 and 152-53; Meet-the-Press Broadcast Transcript, April 2, 1950. 2. Senator Benton's Statement of September 28, 1951, pp. 6 to 16; Transcript of Tydings Committee Hearings, p. 6. 3. Senator Benton's Statement, pp. 38-40; Tydings Committee Report, pp. 95-96; State Department Press Release 648, June 17, 1950, p. 6. 4. State Department Press Release 29, May 29, 1950, p. 2. 5. Senate Subcommittee Hearings on Nomination of Philip C. Jessup, September 21 to October 18, 1951, pp. 2-51 and 163-216.

The five instances summarized above are a very small sample of the material available. The present writer spent the late summer and the fall of 1951 in a painstaking endeavor to accumulate impartially the pertinent facts about Senator McCarthy's charges. He began by studying the newspaper stories in the papers most favorable to the Senator—the Chicago *Tribune* and the Washington *Times-Herald*. Accounts in the New York *Times*, the Milwaukee *Journal* and other newspapers and periodicals were then analyzed. The pertinent press releases of the State Department were studied. A preliminary draft, summarizing the major pros and cons in the controversy, was then sent to Senator McCarthy, to the State Department and to various other persons closely involved, with a request that any errors, omissions of significant facts or misinterpretations of data be pointed out. On the basis of the criticisms received, further researches were conducted. Official documents were searched to find facts and testimony on moot points. An intermediate revision was then drawn up and submitted to the interested persons, with requests for further criticisms. Their replies stimulated further research and revision. A "final revision" was released on December 17, 1951, under the title "McCarthy Versus the State Department."

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The prime conclusion resulting from the above-described study was that Senator McCarthy's statements had been radically at variance with the facts in 50 specific instances (of which the five cited above are examples). But, the report continued, "the 50 cases analyzed are not at all an exhaustive study of Senator McCarthy's treatment of the truth. This is merely a small sample from a restricted area of Joseph McCarthy's activities."

When Senator McCarthy is confronted with challenges relating to his veracity and integrity, he has various standard ways of replying. One of his types of reaction is to respond to factual accusations by invective. For example, the Tydings Committee Majority Report made factual accusations such as are summarized in the five cases above. The report then epitomized these and other of its findings by calling the Senator's charges "a fraud and a hoax." Senator McCarthy, instead of offering factual refutation of the factual charges in the report, gave out a reply consisting merely of invective, which he summarized as follows in his final paragraph:

> The Tydings-McMahon half of the Committee has degenerated to new lows of planned deception. The result of their work is a clever, evil thing to behold. It is gigantic in its fraud and deep in its deceit. It camouflages the facts, and it protects Communists and fellow travelers in our government.

In reacting to the factual charges presented in the Senate Committee Report on the Maryland election he used such invective as the following: "As long as puny politicians try to encourage other puny politicians to ignore or whitewash Communist influence in our government America will remain in grave danger."

To Senator Benton's carefully documented accusations, McCarthy's reaction was:

> Frankly . . . I have not, and do not even intend to read Benton's smear attack. . . . [Benton is] a little mental midget, . . . a megaphone for the Communist-Party-line type of smear.

When the preliminary draft of the present writer's study of "McCarthy Versus the State Department" was submitted to Senator McCarthy, with a request for criticisms and for counter evidence, his reply was in the form of a letter to President Edens of Duke University, dated October 19, 1951, containing the following:

> The purpose of this letter is to call your attention to the fact that this preliminary draft contains a vast amount of the vicious, false and libelous attacks which have been leveled at me by the *Daily Worker* and some of the Communist camp following elements of the press and radio. . . .
>
> This is to notify you personally of Mr. Hart's project, in case you are not aware of it at this time, and that I shall hold the University legally accountable for the publication of this document. . . .

On October 31, 1951, he wrote a second letter:

> Unless I hear from you on or before November 10 that you are taking steps to have retracted the false and defamatory statements made, I shall assume that the material in the publication meets with your approval.

The preliminary draft was submitted also to Miss Jean Kerr, Research Assistant to Senator McCarthy, and to Donald A. Surine of his staff. Miss Kerr, in her reply, characterized the preliminary draft as "a typical Communist-Party-line smear attack upon Senator McCarthy." Mr. Surine wrote:

> I glanced through the material and find it follows the Communist Party line very well. Our office does not have time to follow all of the Communist-line smear attacks upon the Senator.
>
> I understand he has notified the President of your University that he will hold the University financially responsible for the publication of this false and defamatory material.

These reactions by Senator McCarthy and his staff are in marked contrast with those of other persons. The McCarthy group stigmatized the draft as a Communist smear attack, and all of them refrained from offering any factual corrections or specific suggestions for amendments. McCarthy and Surine used threats in their effort to get the study suppressed. But a number of other persons submitted specific criticisms and suggestions of documentary evidence, in the light of which the report might be made more accurate and fair.

To dismiss documented factual criticisms of his charges as "Communist-Party-line smears," to declare that he will not even examine them, and to dismiss his critics as "mental midgets" are thus among McCarthy's standard reactions. But he has others. Among them is to make what appear to be disarmingly generous gestures. For example, on March 30, 1950, Senator McCarthy was reading aloud, on the Senate floor, excerpts from a letter which he said Owen Lattimore had written in 1943. Senator Lehman demanded to hear *all* of the letter. McCarthy invited Lehman to step across the chamber "so that I can show him why a fuller disclosure would be completely unfair." Senator Lehman strode over, saying: "I want to see the letter." But Senator McCarthy would not hand it over, and announced: "I don't yield any further." Other instances of this type include his various offers to surrender his Senatorial immunity, and his offers to resign if he abused that immunity, or if a court held him to be wrong. When any such "generous" offer by McCarthy is taken up, it is withdrawn, or it is

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found to have impossible conditions attached, or it is fulfilled in a merely caricatured way.

But in two cases, these generous gestures have served to convict Senator McCarthy out of his own mouth. First, McCarthy charged that Owen Lattimore was "the top Russian espionage agent" in the United States and that he was "the architect of the State Department's Far Eastern policy." He said: "I am willing to stand or fall on this one. If I am wrong on this I think the subcommittee would be justified in not taking my other case too seriously." McCarthy *was* wrong on this case. Not even Louis Budenz, the ex-Communist accuser, was willing to testify that Lattimore was Russia's top spy. The rest of the evidence strongly contradicts the "top spy" accusation, and the evidence offered by McCarthy, Stassen, Colgrove and others fails to show that Lattimore was the architect of our China policy.

The second "generous-gesture" self-conviction is contained in the interview with McCarthy which was published in *US News & World Report* for September 7, 1951. Discussing in that interview one of his controversies with Senator Tydings, Senator McCarthy said: "This question of members had become rather important. It was a question of whether McCarthy was a liar or Tydings a liar. . . . If [McCarthy] is a liar in this, let's assume that he's a liar in everything." The immediate question had to do with a recording of a McCarthy speech which McCarthy said Tydings had kept talking about but always evaded playing. About this recording, McCarthy's statements were fundamentally at variance with the facts in two essentials. But the larger issue was whether McCarthy had or had not said, in his Wheeling, W. Va., speech, that he had in his hand a list of 205 members of the Communist Party who were shaping the policies of the State Department. McCarthy had denied, under oath, before a Senate committee, that he used those words in that speech. But the statement (as quoted in the first pro-and-con item, earlier in the present article) stands as it was printed in the Wheeling *Intelligencer* and as it was subsequently certified to be correct by the reporter. Two radio men have made sworn affidavits that the passage appeared in this form in the original typescript handed them by McCarthy, and that it was delivered as written. *Somebody* committed perjury.

One of the strongest reasons why so many patriotic Americans have rallied to the support of McCarthy is that an overwhelming majority of thinking people in the Western democracies have become convinced that Soviet Communism seeks to capture the world—by creeping, nibbling, furtive, boring-from-within aggressions if possible, or by atomic blitzkrieg as soon as the Western democracies have become sufficiently weakened. A large section of our public is easily dominated by the simple hero-villain sort of emotional dynamics. The ill-informed and sensation-motivated among our citizens often line up with blind fervor behind any demagogue who claims to be fighting Communist termites in our government.

And patriots have had reason for concern. Thirteen years ago, before World War II, a Communist cell did penetrate the upper levels of the State Department, and at that time was actively betraying our government secrets to the Soviet Union. The testimony of former Communists like Wadleigh, Chambers, Budenz, Massing and others, the conviction of Hiss, the evidence against Noel Field, Laurence Duggan and others—such evidence makes it clear that the State Department was infiltrated in a very dangerous way in 1937 and 1938. But we have unimpeachable later data. The State Department concedes that a chart prepared by its own officials classified 20 of its employees, in 1946, as Soviet agents, 13 others as Communists, 14 as Communist sympathizers and 77 others as suspects. Since then, steps have been taken to eliminate Communists from the government. Gen. Conrad Snow, head of the State Department Loyalty Board, said that 20 employees have been eliminated as security risks out of 546 adjudications, though not all of these were eliminated on the basis of past or present Communist affiliations. About 60 other employees resigned rather than face investigation. Has that cleaned out the Communists? General Snow thinks that it has.

But how much of the credit can Senator McCarthy claim? All of the major dismissals were achieved before McCarthy started his campaign in February, 1950. In spite of the widely publicized long lists of "Communists" about whom he has claimed to have evidence, the Senator has never turned over for prosecution a single case. The one dismissal which may have resulted from his charges was that of John Stewart Service, and the hearings which resulted in his discharge failed to produce evidence that he was a Communist.

Communism is dangerous, fundamentally, because it destroys human liberties by distorting and suppressing the truth. It is dangerous because in Communist countries accusation is equivalent to conviction, and character can be assassinated by irresponsible slander. Government by consent of the governed must triumph over government by fear, force and fraud. But we shall not cure Communism by resorting to the unscrupulous methods of Communists. Any Senator or Presidential aspirant who uses, tolerates or encourages such methods is to that extent a menace to democracy. We must triumph by truth, integrity and fair play, not by McCarthyism.

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THE SAAR — BRIDGE OR CHASM?

by Arnold J. Heidenheimer

LOUIS XIV was an unabashed nationalist. Reigning in a time when a "good European" respected the unity of what remained of the Roman Empire, he was a poor European. He sparked 17th century French expansionism, a target of which was the Saar, then just another sleepy duchy west of the Rhine. In 1662, the Count of Nassau-Saarbruecken received an ultimatum from Paris to swear allegiance to the French throne and recognize French legal claims dating back to an Imperial decree issued in 999 AD. Unhappy, the Count appealed for protection to the feeble Imperial Diet at Ravenna. After much talk the French seized the territory by armed force in 1672. In 1676, victorious Imperial troops re-took it. In 1678, the French re-took it. It has been fought over for centuries since.

Today European statesmen are attempting to restore the unity of Western Europe. The tactics of Louis XIV and Count Bismarck are discredited. National aggrandizement is officially disclaimed, and all over the continent there is popular support of what the delegates at the Council of Europe meetings are trying to achieve. The Council, like the one meeting in Ravenna, has almost no power. But most of the European parliaments have backed up the principle of supra-nationalism by voting to pool their steel and iron resources in the joint enterprise created by the Schuman Plan, drawn up by a Frenchman born in Alsace. Three weeks ago they seemed ready finally to place most of their armies under the unified command of Gen. Dwight Eisenhower.

Then suddenly, just as the two enterprises were about to become living mechanisms, quarrels flared up over the Saar. Touched to the quick by the French appointment of their Occupation head, Gilbert Grandval, as an ambassador to the small state, the Germans charged that their fellow-countrymen were being sacrificed to French expansionism. The French replied with sarcasm that the Germans do not seem to understand that they lost the war.

Carried along in the intensity of suddenly aroused national passions, the giants of the New Europe diminished in stature by the minute. Chancellor Conrad Adenauer, who a few days before announced that he was on the verge of getting the Bonn Bundestag to agree to raising troops for the Eisenhower army, suddenly declared that his parliament would instead be talking about the Saar. Walter Hallstein, the chief of the German Foreign Office, who had been negotiating in Paris with his French opposite number, Robert Schuman, about other details of the unified army organization, dashed back to Bonn to announce that Schuman had broken his pledged word. The French, world statesmen the day before, suddenly assumed the opportune masks of political innocents. The ambassadorial appointment, they announced without flinching, was just another routine matter. In reality, the Quay d'Orsay had pushed French interest ahead of European at a crucial diplomatic moment.

If the French were not as volatile in their statements it was for the good reason that for the past six years, *they* have had the Saar. The end of World War II gave them one more opportunity to hold the prize they have been seeking for centuries. They annexed it economically, and bound it strongly to them politically. The Saar coal mines, which employed 360 workers when Napoleon became interested in them, today provide one-third of all French coal. The steel mills, which turn out 2.5 million tons a year, gave Jean Monnet a fighting chance to keep the lag between French and Ruhr industrial capacity from becoming too big.

The Saarlanders, who in the 1935 League of Nations plebiscite gave a 91-percent majority for reunion with Germany after a 15-year separation, are still not visibly in arms against their present set-up. During the early years of the occupation they enjoyed a much more favorable economic position. But today the German standard of living, and German prestige, is rising. If they were forced to another plebiscite, they would probably vote as Germans.

But the French have taken no chances with German emotions. They acted decisively to capture control of all crucial points of economic and political power. Except for the super-German Communists, political parties are licensed only if they recognize the Saar's independent status. In December, 1946, 1,200 French customs inspectors suddenly entered the territory and established customs frontiers between the Saar and the Palatinate. A special Saar currency was introduced in June, 1947, to be replaced later by the French franc.

The Saar's Minister-President, Johannes Hoffman, a former newspaper editor, is typical of the influential Saar group which the French have encouraged to plant their roots in the status quo. Basically this group's policy is one of enlightened opportunism. Hoffman, who in 1932 derided the idea of an autonomous Saar state as "the

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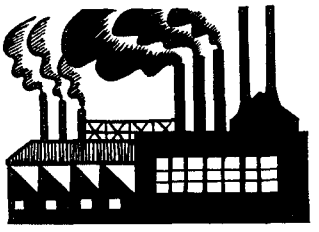
brain-child of French propaganda," today whistles a 100 percent Francophile tune. He is also an ardent Catholic, a fact which has not aided the cause of civil rights under his regime. In 1950, he suspended two newspapers for criticizing the spending of public funds on the entertainment of the visiting Archbishop of Lourdes. "We are a Catholic country," said Hoffman, "and such action cannot be permitted." But his Saar government, if authoritarian, is not narrowly so. By establishing such diverse enterprises as a University of the Saar and a profitable trade system with France, it has sought positively to widen the circle of those who look to the West for their material and spiritual welfare.



Eastward of Saarbruecken, naturally, little of this is viewed with favor. To the Germans the detachment of the Saar is an attack on their right to national unity. They point out that all the inter-allied agreements, while recognizing France's right to economic union, reserved political decisions until the writing of the peace treaty. France, they insist, is attempting to prejudice that future decision by actions which will present a far-distant peace conference with a *fait accompli*. Kept alive in Bundestag debates, official memoranda and protest meetings, the Saar issue has now been given a prominent place in the seemingly endless series of issues which Adenauer wants to talk about just when Americans expect him finally to take a bold step forward toward the New Europe.

In this context, the present uproar is but a repetition of the alarms that were sounded in Bonn two years ago, when the French were about to conclude their agreements with the Saar government which gave them a 50-year lease on Saar coal mines and left the Saar with legislative and judicial independence. Under pressure to counter the loud clamor of his Social Democratic opposition, Adenauer then declared that the pact "destroyed his faith in the Western Allies," and that "the idea of European unity had been subjected to an unbearable burden." An unnamed spokesman at Bonn went even further and declared that Germany would make no move to join the Council of Europe if the Saar were permitted to join. In point of fact, the Germans soon thereafter did join the Council of Europe, when it became apparent that the West would not back down in its support of the French demand that the Saar be seated.

Strasbourg's New Europe, however, far from resolving the differences between Germans and French, may for the time being only complicate them. For the Germans now say that since the Schuman Plan gives the French a decisive voice in the running of the vital Saar industry, the main justification for French interference there becomes a dead letter. The French, not to be outdone in intellectual agility, have come right back to argue that since the Schuman Plan also gives the Germans a decisive voice in the economic decisions of the Ruhr, the Germans should admit that *their* interests are being satisfied.

Barring all-out war or an unforeseen miracle, there will be continued clash between French and Germans, whether they meet in Strasbourg, in the Schuman Plan Authority or in the European Defense Community. A certain amount of this hostility is inevitable. The French will always be in opposition to any move that gives Germany greater power. What is possible is to reduce this area of basic conflict as much as possible—and one of the obvious steps is to remove the provocation to both sides presented by the present status of the Saar.

What fate then for this strategic territory? One obvious one has already been bruited about in the press. It is to make the Saar the headquarters of the New Europe organizations. The Schuman Plan, the European Defense Community and the other "functional" arms of the emerging political structure will have to have a place to call home when they are finally born. Why not place them in the Saar, which is close to the geographical center of the new alliance, easily accessible and polylingual?

This idea has been given currently by both Hoffman and Emil Strauss, the Saar delegate in Paris, who have said that they are ready "to be the first Europeans." Just how far the various contenders are ready to go is so far not clear. The internationalization of the Saar at various times has been unofficially suggested in both Paris and Bonn, but the respective proposals have never been spelled out. At the moment, neither the French nor the Germans will take responsibility for the idea, although the former appear to be somewhat more sympathetic. German acceptance of the plan will surely hinge on whether the French will go part way at least in really loosening their political control.

Most fruitfully, the Saar could become the first federated member of the New Europe, maintaining its domestic independence as American states do. The Council of Europe itself would seem the most natural body to father an operating unit that would handle Saar affairs as a test case for bigger things to come. This would allow the Council to emerge from its consultative cocoon and come to grips with harsh life. "And of the soul the body form doth take," said the poet, but almost the reverse is true in international—as well as supranational—politics. Having a permanent home and even a tiny territory to administer would do New Europe's soul a world of good.

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LONDON LETTER: THE QUEEN'S HERITAGE

by Michael Curtis

THE SUDDEN death of King George VI came at a dramatic moment in British politics. The House of Commons was in the middle of a stormy session over foreign policy and at 10:30 on the morning of February 6 the Labour Opposition had assembled privately to discuss party tactics for the second day of the debate.

Mr. Attlee opened the discussion and explained why he and his colleagues had decided to switch their attack from a general criticism of the government's foreign policy to a particular and personal rebuke of Winston Churchill for his speech to Congress in January. At this point a messenger entered and the Labour leader hurried out, returning a moment later with the news from Sandringham. And because British Socialists are as staunchly royalist as any of Her Majesty's subjects the meeting broke up immediately. During the days which followed, and as Lords and Commons prepared to swear allegiance to their new sovereign, Elizabeth II, a political truce was strictly observed. The nation had time, therefore, to reflect on the qualities of that particularly British institution —the constitutional monarchy.

To a foreign ear these reflections may have sounded trite, platitudinous and rather self-satisfied. The resonant phrases which filled the editorial columns, the tributes which poured in from all over the world, the quite genuine and almost universal feeling of personal loss—all these combined to create an emotion of extraordinary power. It is hard to find a rational explanation but Winston Churchill was certainly right when, in a great memorial broadcast, he declared that the monarchy today "has acquired a meaning incomparably more powerful than anyone had dreamed possible in former times."

Like nearly every other national institution, the British monarchy defies rational analysis. Its modern role has evolved slowly, almost imperceptibly, and largely by custom and precedent. The skeptical foreigner may shrug his shoulders, but he cannot deny that in this respect at least the Englishman is absolutely consistent. He hates being tied down to written formulas. He detests concrete commitments. He abhors codified constitutions. Mr. Nehru (or Mr. St. Laurent for that matter) can walk out of the Commonwealth tomorrow if he wishes. The legal ties which bind Britain to India are far less exact than those which link her with the United States through the North Atlantic Treaty.

Michael Curtis is a staff member of the independent liberal British newspaper the News Chronicle.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Englishman continues to distrust logic in politics and still seeks his country's salvation through a process of evolution and adaptation to changing world conditions. This, more than anything else, explains why he is suspicious of the federal movements in Europe, why he shies away from the constitutional tangles of the Schuman Plan and the European Army.

When Mr. Eden opened the Foreign Affairs debate in the House of Commons on February 5 he was certainly much more cordial in his references to the struggle for unity on the Continent than on previous occasions. He could afford to be. From the British point of view the essential condition had been established and agreed upon. The European game could proceed—but it was to be clearly understood that the UK would remain firmly anchored to the touch-line. There was an almost audible sigh of relief in Whitehall when General Eisenhower set the final seal of respectability to this policy. Only a few of the hardiest Strasbourg campaigners have raised a voice of criticism and warning. They fear that a unified Europe without Britain would eventually lead to the domination of the Continent by Germany—a Germany whose allegiance to the West was by no means yet proved. They fear that the great pioneer work done by the OEEC in Paris and by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg would perish unless Britain took a more active part. Recent reports from the OEEC certainly encourage this gloomy conjecture. Finally, they see no hope of a long-term solution to Europe's chronic dependence on the dollar unless some means can be found of grafting the economies of Western Europe (represented by the European Payments Union) on to the Commonwealth's sterling area. But these were lone voices, and most people here are quite content with Eden's argument that Britain and the Commonwealth can best be linked with Europe through the NATO.

It would be wrong, however, to imagine that British policy will now swing sharply toward an out-and-out Atlantic Union of the Clarence Streit variety. Support for a more effective political co-ordination of the top policy level in NATO is one thing. Genuine political union is quite another.

To the average Britisher such points are, in any case, quite academic. What really interests him right now is the Far East. The Labour Party has a strong suspicion that Mr. Churchill entered into some secret agreement at Washington which had the effect of reversing the line

(*Continued on page 23*)

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE CASE FOR ACHESON: A DEFERENTIAL AND DISCREET DEFENSE

by James R. Newman

FOUR YEARS AGO McGeorge Bundy collaborated with the late Henry Stimson in writing *On Active Service in Peace and War*, a valuable record of Stimson's long and distinguished career. In the present book Bundy, who teaches Government at Harvard, submits a brief for Dean Acheson, one of Stimson's successors as Secretary of State. The primary method of the brief is to let Acheson speak for himself. Excerpts from his speeches, press conferences, reports and testimony before Congressional committees have been carefully selected, topically arranged and woven together by Bundy's editorial comment. Thus an attempt is made to present the evolution of the Administration's foreign policy under Acheson's direction and also to show what sort of man it is that has provoked so much controversy. I had hoped for an appraisal of Acheson's work and to be enlightened about matters outside the run of common knowledge; instead, this wordy and tiresome book decorously eschews peeping into attaché cases or behind official faces and says very little a reasonably well-informed person does not already know. What is offered is unsatisfactory as history or biography, not so much because the book sets out to make a case, as because the part of the case that is proved required no proof and the part that was in doubt remains so. No sane person today needs to be convinced that Acheson is not a knave; his capacity as Secretary of State is less clearly established. Yet we are here overwhelmed with refutations of obvious calumnies and only meagerly informed on matters of sober concern. Bundy's comment, while honest and responsible, lacks the cutting edge the subject demands and is not infrequently inflated and irritatingly high-collar. His style reminds me somehow of Spencer —the calligrapher, not the philosopher.

THE PATTERN OF RESPONSIBILITY. Edited by McGeorge Bundy (Houghton Mifflin; $4).

Acheson has served in a hard time and has had a hard time. It is doubtful that any Cabinet officer in our history has been more beaten about the ears for less reason. He has borne these assaults with a dignity galling to his enemies. He has defended energetically his management of foreign policy, and, except for a few occasions when he answered directly the more irresponsible charges against his personal conduct, he has treated such malice with the stony contempt the utterances of squalid politicians and journalists deserve. Acheson's assets and capabilities are, as we have come to realize, not inconsiderable. His appearance and manner are to his advantage; he has an elegance of address and repartee which, if intellectually not always top-drawer, is unmistakably top-hat; he is a model witness before Congressional committees—at once correct, fluent but not glib, deferential but not servile. He is not unduly witty—a fatal attribute on Capitol Hill. He is a skillful advocate who can so modulate his tone as to persuade a Hickenlooper without making him feel uncomfortable, win the respect of a Vandenberg, and pierce the prejudice-encrusted shrewdness of a Connally. His press interviews are usually exemplary, but he has been known to lose both his temper and his sureness of touch, occasionally behaving like a bishop and then again breaking into the alarming heartiness of an Odd-Fellow.

These proficiencies helped Acheson to get his job and to hold it. Truman is surrounded by a lamentable Cabinet and a pitiful staff; he is well aware, for all the headaches Acheson has given him, that his Secretary of State is a man among mice. He has fought off the attacks upon Acheson and with admirable stubbornness has disregarded even the advice of his cronies to dump him. This steadfastness has been amply repaid in service to the Administration and, more important, in kind; Acheson has been unswervingly loyal, the trait Truman cherishes above all things.

Acheson's superiority to the time-servers in high office, his personal integrity and devotion to duty, are beyond dispute. But the question of the adequacy of his equipment for the job remains to divide fair opinion. The question cannot of course be answered in terms of results alone. Those who approve our foreign policy will praise his skill, and those who disapprove will belittle it. Yet it should be possible to some extent to separate the man and his work, to allow for the influence on policies of circumstances he does not control, and thus to arrive at a more discriminating estimate of his qualifications. There is not much in Bundy's book to help us to such an estimate.

Acheson has made a number of long speeches about Communism. His views on the subject are here fully set forth. It is not surprising to learn that he is opposed to Communism and that he is boldly and uncompromisingly in favor of democracy, freedom, equality, justice, law and order, neighborliness and the like. It is somewhat harder to discover the practical aspects of these spacious affirmations. We are told that Acheson is tough and firm vis à vis Russia, but what else? His proposals for meeting the "Soviet threat," and for dealing with other vexing issues are apt to take form in slogans and euphemisms. At the University of California in 1950 he first struck off the watchword "total diplomacy," which, he said, must be our shield against Soviet expansion and would help us build "the kind of world in which our way of life can flourish." The State Department's attitude toward Franco's government was summed up by Acheson as follows: "I think [he told Senator Saltonstall] we ought to be very clear that there is no policy of non-

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recognition of Spain. . . . Spain is a very important element in the security of the United States, and that is why it is so important and why we have been doing our best to bring about what I call a re-integration of Spain in the West." The Advertising Council was the group to whom the Secretary divulged his notion of creating "situations of strength." A few days earlier at a press conference he contrived a kaleidoscopic metaphor that served as a basis for this concept. All over the world there are, he said, "situations of weakness." "Every time one of those situations exists—and they exist in Asia and they exist in Europe—it is not only an invitation but an irresistible invitation for the Soviet Government to fish in these troubled waters. To ask them not to fish . . . is like trying to deal with a force of nature. You can't argue with a river—it is going to flow. You can dam it up, you can put it to useful purposes, you can deflect it, but you can't argue with it. Therefore, we go to work, as I said, to change those situations of weakness so that they won't create opportunities for fishing and opportunities for trouble." Another of Acheson's interesting images appears in describing one of the alternative Asiatic policies rejected by the State Department: "The Chinese from now on must paddle their own canoe and we have to wash our hands of it."

While such examples may not afford a proper measure of Acheson's mind, neither can it be said that they instill in us a profound admiration for his originality and insight. It may be that in private Acheson thinks penetrating thoughts about international affairs, but the public statements compiled in this record give no hint of so dangerous a practice. The sentiments he expresses are often rhetorical, or resemble in inspiration those of a corporate solicitor; and while the idiom used is, at times, uncommonly literate for Washington, the ideas it imparts are banal.

There is every reason to believe that Acheson's experiences in office have narrowed his vision. He gives no sign of questioning the perfect wisdom of his course, no sign of the agony of doubt one might expect would torment such a man holding such a place. He can say with a straight face that the main interest of the US in stopping Communism in China arises, not from any "conflict" with the Soviet Union but from "our real interest in those people [the Chinese] as people"; that the United States never puts pressure of any kind on its allies; that in the UN "we do not have any satellites whose votes we control . . . [it is simply] that proposals which have commended themselves to a majority of the members of the United Nations have also commended themselves to us." His position on the rearming of Germany (which he now strongly favors), his seeming inability—or reluctance—to offer a constructive policy on China, his conciliatory attitude toward Spain, the woodenness of his views on atomic energy—these among other policies are proof not only that principle has bowed to expediency, but that Acheson, although retaining his desire for peace, has lost his way. Bundy says of him that his "mind and temperament are intensely practical"; he himself has defined the proper approach to international problems as doing "the common sense thing from the point of view of American interest." Yet the practical and the patiently prudent seem no longer to temper his conduct of foreign policy; the righteous, the intransigent have apparently usurped their places. The charge that Acheson has become the prisoner of his enemies is not easily dispelled; indeed there is ample evidence in these pages to support it.

To depreciate Acheson is to risk adding one's voice to the clamors of a scurvy company. It must be said firmly that he is a high-minded and devoted public servant. Nor can it be denied that discernment and moderation have characterized his handling of certain phases of international relations, that he has striven to avert another war, that he is a diligent and able advocate, that he stood up gallantly—for a time at least—to his critics. His deficiencies, however, are no less evident and it is as great a disservice to pretend that they do not exist as to defame him unjustly. There are few men who could have withstood the pressure to which he has been subjected; he has been damaged by it and the country has lost by it. Acheson, Bundy observes, "is not soft; he is harder than Mr. Churchill." The comparison is presumptuous; but it contains the most distressing piece of information I expect to find in any book this year.

A SPARK TO BREATHE ON

SPARK OF LIFE, by Erich Maria Remarque. Translated from the German by James Stern (Appleton-Century-Crofts; $3.75).

THIS restrained novel about a Nazi labor camp is, in many ways, Erich Remarque's best since *All Quiet on the Western Front* and *The Road Back*. Certainly in its structural aspects, those which a matured craftsmanship could most readily affect, it is a better novel than either of them. Out of materials almost as complex as those of *The Road Back* he achieves, by maintaining a controlling emotional nucleus, a unity the earlier book lacks. Through a gradual widening and strengthening of this same nucleus, he creates a sense of steady dramatic increase which is not present in *All Quiet*. This same nucleus is also the means to a notable advance over the intervening novels. There is in *Spark of Life* none of the contrivance and even melodrama which occasionally weakened, in particular, *Arch of Triumph*. It is as if, by identifying himself with the central sufferers of his new tale, the men who form the nucleus, the author had resolved many of his own internal conflicts and arrived at an emotional as well as an abstract conviction.

This small group of men, a dozen to begin with, are the repository of the spark of life. They are the "Veterans," the so-called political prisoners, mostly Jews, who have survived several years of imprisonment and so are doubly representative of the people most unjustly and completely victimized by the Nazis. Because they are too feeble to work or to need watching, they have been shunted off, with a much larger group of the true walking dead, into the untended and peculiarly offensive barracks for those encouraged to die. They are distinguished from their companions, the mere animal shadows called the "Mussel-

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men," by still possessing a tough, if tiny, remnant of will and personality, and through it, of group spirit. By way of these "Veterans," and particularly by way of prisoner 509, a man symbolically anonymous even to himself, who serves as the individual focus of this focal group (only within a few days of liberation does he assume a name, and then it is not his own, and he does not live to go free), we share in all the tiny, agonizing, preoccupying strategies of survival. Through them we take part in the growth of the spark from its quiescent beginning, in which no emotion, least of all hope, no big ideas and almost no activity can be tolerated, through the glowing-coals stages of increasing awareness and purpose, to the appearance of a small, sufficient flame when hope can be tolerated, thought reaches beyond the electric fence and time begins to move again. Around them, also, are ordered adequate details of the total camp, the still active labor battalions, with their small, strong Communist nucleus, the criminal prisoners in little Himmler positions, the Nazi bosses, the ghosts in the women's camp (one of whom also becomes a symbol of survival), the crematorium, the punishment cell, and even, through the camp commandant, glimpses of the town beyond, the region unknown. These encircling environments, the suffering, the brutal, and the unaware, work well in their major purpose of demonstrating how close to a miracle it is that the spark has been kept alive in their midst. And as a bonus important to all of this, James Stern has made a clean, perceptive, nicely paced translation that one feels must hold very close to the tone of the original, even in the difficult matter of vernacular equivalents.

Despite the care with which *Spark of Life* has been designed, however, and despite the effective development of its central drama, it cannot have the force of revelation, in matter or in manner, of either of Remarque's first two books. Too much has already been written about concentration camps, and, perhaps largely because of Remarque's own influence, too much of it has been written in a comparable tone of controlled realism. As a result, and in part also because they have been properly subordinated, the Nazi figures of *Spark of Life*, and even many of their particular acts, seem near to stereotypes. The author's warning that the Nazis and the Communists, differing more in their language than in their intentions and their acts, have merely changed places, and are again prepared between them to crush the cherishers of the spark, reads like prophecy after the fact.

If we cannot read *Spark of Life* with a sense of discovery, it is nonetheless well worth reading for what it surely is, a penetrating, heartening, consistently interesting dramatization of the power of the human spirit to survive in a world beset by subhuman dogmatisms. And that is a great deal, a very much needed great deal.

WALTER VAN TILBURG CLARK

Walter Van Tilburg Clark is the author of The Ox-Bow Incident, The City of Trembling Leaves *and* The Track of the Cat.

THE SMALL WORLD VIEW

A FOREIGN POLICY FOR AMERICANS, by Robert A. Taft (Doubleday; $2).

SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, this reviewer heard Senator Taft make a speech to a business group in which he jokingly remarked, "I have been accused of becoming a foreign policy expert, but it is the other way round. I have not moved in on foreign policy. Foreign policy has moved in on me."

This was more revealing than the Senator intended, and it is the key to understanding his little book. It is not the product of a man who has thought carefully and systematically about foreign policy in its own terms. It is the work of a man who thinks of foreign affairs only when they intrude insistently on his private domestic interests and considerations. Taft writes in the irritable tone of a tired father who has been awakened from his Sunday nap to fix Junior's roller skates.

The book is profoundly insular in its thinking. Taft actually agrees with many of the specific policies of the Administration, but his agreements are grudging concessions. They do not flow from his basic premises. He keeps referring to a "permanent" policy as distinguished from "emergency" expedients. Most of the unpleasant facts of the modern world, such as that Russia is strong, warlike and aggressive (and likely to remain so) and that half the world is hungry and in revolt, seem in Taft's mind to belong to the category of temporary emergencies. His book is suffused with yearning for the never was and the never again.

Taft's insularity is intellectually even more compromising than it at first appears. This is not the lofty, old-fashioned, patriotic nationalism of Washington and Adams, represented to some extent in our own day by men like Beard and Bemis. Taft speaks for a class, not a nation—a rich, comfortable business class, insecure in its privileges and troubled in its values. All of his major foreign-policy pronouncements are calculated in terms of a balanced budget, tax reductions and restrictive labor legislation, which remain his Holy Trinity. In devotion to this narrow faith, he clings to every cliché and every nostrum. The result is a book that is timid in its approach, rigid in its analysis, insincere in its rhetoric and consistently unpenetrating.

A Foreign Policy for Americans presents a summary of recent foreign policy interspersed with analysis and argument. The precise details are not worth serious discussion because the whole book is betrayed by the terms in which it poses the problem. It is almost inconceivable that anyone today, even a conservative, could see present world issues in terms of liberty vs. socialism. Taft ties human freedoms to "free enterprise" and throws Communism and Socialism into one barrel. He says, for example: "Those who accept the principle of socialism, of government direction, and of government bureaucracy have a hard time battling against the ideology of communism. Our labor union leaders cannot effectively fight communism, as such, because they favor a socialist control that comes very close to communism in the actual measures to be undertaken."

Has not Taft heard of David Dubinsky's accomplishments in the Italian elections? Has he not heard of Victor Reuther's vital work in France and Germany? Apparently he has no com-

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prehension of the fact that the reactionary French and Italian industrialists are America's second most dangerous enemy in Europe.

There is an even deeper fallacy here. Taft obviously still considers Communism primarily an economic system rather than the apparatus for totalitarian control it has become. The Attlee government in Britain and the Socialist regimes on the Continent in no sense came "very close to communism" simply because the "actual measures" effectuated in a Communist state are the establishment of secret police, concentration camps, slave labor and periodic purges. These are the crucial steps, not the nationalization of the cement industry or the giving of free dentures.

Out of such grave misunderstandings do practical errors endlessly flow. Taft proposes a foreign policy for some Americans only, and even they would be well advised to reject it if they value their lives and their liberty.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

THE PEAKS OF COLERIDGE

INQUIRING SPIRIT: A New Presentation of Coleridge from His Published and Unpublished Prose Writings. Edited by Kathleen Coburn (Pantheon; $5).

SELECTED POETRY AND PROSE OF COLERIDGE. Edited with an Introduction, by Donald A. Stauffer (Modern Library; $1.25).

TO READ Coleridge is to feel something of the delight, the awful wonder and, too, the exasperation that is felt in the presence of nature. He could describe himself as "unfortunately little more than a far-fetched series of Et Ceteras." His friend Lamb described him more happily as "an archangel, a little damaged." Certainly he seldom seems a mere man; he is more like a great natural phenomenon, one of those mountain cataracts for which he had such a full and intense appreciation, but more luminous than they could ever be.

The selections made by Miss Kathleen Coburn do not fulfill their promise of offering "a new presentation" of this phenomenon, especially as only about a third of the items are published for the first time, and the remainder are less unfamiliar than she supposes. She calls her book "a basket of plucked plums and windfalls, collected while rummaging about in the more recondite materials." So it is, with some small scholarly apparatus attached to the basket. One regards it with renewed amazement at the mind of Coleridge, prodigious alike in the variety of its interests, the acuity of its vision, the greatness of its grasp, as in the pathos of its failures.

Not the least remarkable quality of these pages is their frequent anticipations of what we like to believe to be modern thinking, most notably in psychology, but also in other fields. Thus he observes that where one finds "Letters, Books, Printing, Men of Learning, Men of Science, Artists . . . [but therewith corruption, false religion and despotism], as in Russia, for instance, such a Nation or Empire does not cease to be in a state of Barbarism, tho' it may be partially civilized." This was written about 1825. Some twelve years earlier he was talking about his "Psychosomatic Ology." Again, anent circulating libraries, he reflects on the kind of reading which has "the charm of reconciling two contrary yet co-existent propensities of men, the Indulgence of Sloth with the Hatred of Vacancy," a class of occupation with which he compares spitting over a bridge, connubial after-dinner quarrels, and the reading, in a pub on a rainy day, of the newspaper advertisements, word for word. Might we not add television to the list? But these are mere slivers and parings, as it were, from the contents of the basket. Even windfalls lying about the trunk of a Coleridge yield a rich harvest.

The Modern Library Coleridge is a more ambitious undertaking; it includes a fair number of poems and a very large part of the *Biografia Literaria*, together with portions of some of the other prose. Although the book is prefaced by a good introduction, the selection leaves much to be desired and the scholarship even more. Here is nothing from the *Notebooks* or the *Table Talk*, nothing from the *Letters*, and the *Biografia Literaria* is made to do duty for almost all of Coleridge's penetrating criticism. There is no index, and there are no notes, so that the uninstructed reader will attribute to Coleridge his quotations from Schelling, and is otherwise apt to go astray. He would do better to turn to Viking's *The Portable Coleridge*, which offers a comprehensive selection made by that devoted Coleridge scholar: I. A. Richards. Figuratively as well as literally, Coleridge was a mountain climber. To turn to any volume containing some part of his writings is to share the humorous accidents, the wayside beauties, the great vistas, of his intellectual journeys.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

FICTION PARADE

THE GOOD SOLDIER, by Ford Maddox Ford (Knopf; $3).

IT IS almost an act of supererogation to review a novel so admirably prefaced by Mark Schorer's interpretation and Ford Maddox Ford's dedicatory letter. Schorer sensitively explains the skillful "delimitation of form" from which "arises the exfoliation of theme," and "the substance at once exact and richly enigmatic." But he exaggerates, I think, when he says this novel about five apparently normal people is "a comedy of humor, and the humor is phlegm." Ford was more accurate in his emphasis when he wanted to call *The Good Soldier, The Saddest Story.*

From the obvious point of view, *The Good Soldier* is about the naïve narrator's discovery that no one "in this world knows anything of any other heart—or of his own." For more than seven years he regards his wife, Edward Ashburnham, Leonora Ashburnham and himself as conventional, adjusted, passionless people. In four days he learns that all of them, and the more recently encountered and misunderstood Nancy, are passionate, frustrated men and women involved in a labyrinth of adultery and misapprehension. With a technique that goes forward and backward in time yet miraculously maintains intensity, Ford reveals the underlying emotions in a tone at once sympathetic, ironic and bewildered that achieves a total effect of pathos. Microcosm reveals macrocosm: "the death of a mouse from cancer is the whole sack of Rome by the Goths." *The Good Soldier* deserves the hyperbole to which a score of distinguished critics subscribe, that it is "one of the fifteen or twenty greatest novels produced in English in our century."

Of all Ford's books it is the one most likely to persist. Despite the creation of Christopher Tietjens, the only caricature

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in modern English fiction who nearly becomes a character, and some fine and accurate portrayals of the English upper class during the First World War, *Parade's End* often bogs down in technical virtuosity and, sometimes, in verbiage. Ford's other works, as he himself recognized, are *pastiches* or *tours de force*, interesting to the student of contemporary literature but not compelling. Like Norman Douglas and Richard Hughes, Ford seems likely to endure because he wrote one book good enough to offset the demerits of too many others.

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

THE GRASS HARP, by Truman Capote (Random House; $3).

VIRTUES excessive to a fault in Capote's previous work are here proportioned and in equilibrium. This is superficially the same story line as *Other Voices, Other Rooms*, with again the central figure a lonely boy brought to live through his adolescence in a bizarre household. In the earlier novel it tended to mildew and baroque, whereas this story is infused with tenderness and drollery, and the style now has liquid and rhythmic charm.

The pith of Capote's thought is love. In the first novel he said, "One has always to love a good many things which the beloved must come only to symbolize," and the elaboration of this idea, silkily embroidered in the character of Cousin Randolph, was for many readers not particularly striking, perhaps because Randolph was a special case. Dolly Talbot of *The Grass Harp*, a 60-year-old spinster, is not a special case; she is a universal, and though the idea is still not profound, as voiced by her it seems to have a beguiling wisdom: " . . . a chain of love. . . . Because when you can love one thing, you can love another."

When the lyricism thickens it is cut by the snappish cynicisms of Catherine Creek, Dolly's lifelong colored companion. "I've got a bowl of goldfish," says she; "just 'cause I like them don't make me love the world. Love a lot of mess, my foot."

Dolly knew a dropsy cure. When her sister wanted to take the secret from her and commercialize it they quarreled and she knew she must go away. With Catherine and the boy she went outside of town to a house built into a China tree. Two others joined them; they were besieged and Catherine was taken to jail as hostage. The slapstick of their eviction from the tree merged into the blurred softness of Dolly's voluntary return to her sister, and "the tree-house, the woods we left to winter."

For a delicate entertainment this novel couldn't be better. It is, in fact, irresistible.

HAZEL HAWTHORNE

MOVIES

Hue and Cry

FEW MEMBERS of an audience today are likely to know much of Emiliano Zapata, the Indian revolutionary who roused the peasants in the south of Mexico during the years that Pancho Villa was gallivanting through the north. Nevertheless, they may decide to be suspicious of the characterization turned out by Darryl F. Zanuck and Elia Kazan for Twentieth Century-Fox. Their Mexican maquis leader expresses himself too frequently in squelchy aphorisms of a kind we have had before from the Oakies of California and the doomed heroes of the Norwegian underground; his gestures and accents too often recall Stanley Kowalski of *A Streetcar Named Desire*. John Steinbeck and Marlon Brando are doubtless expert technicians, but for biography their artistic egos are a little strong.

The principal virtues of *Viva Zapata!* are its general atmosphere of bitter poverty that composes again and again into scenes of sharp beauty, and the clean-cut performances of several lesser members of the cast. The best of these are Harold Gordon as the well-meaning, innocent and craven President Madero, Joseph Wiseman as a fanatic revolutionary (there's a vivid actor who makes his personality toe the line) and Alan Reed in a brief, attractive appearance as Villa. Jean Peters is a lovely sweetheart for the bold outlaw and no picture is the less entertaining for the spectacle of desperate horsemen plunging at full gallop through the countryside. If *Viva Zapata!* had been built around more such scenes it could have been a good period horse opera instead of a slightly presumptuous biography.

When a foreign picture opens in New York in a Translux Theatre with almost no ballyhoo, when it is encumbered by a title that suggests all the wrong things, it is in danger of dying off before enough people have seen it to spread the news. If that should happen to *The Magic Garden* it would be a sad loss, for nothing better has appeared on the American screen in a long while.

The Magic Garden, like *Cry, the Beloved Country*, was made in South Africa; it is the comic reaction to the social facts that moved Alan Paton to pity and anger. The film is funny, at times hilarious, but the laughter has an edge to it that might make a tyrant toss in his sleep.

Donald Swanson, the picture's producer-director, went to Africa for J. Arthur Rank and stayed on to make movies for himself; *The Magic Garden* is his second production. His cast is entirely native, entirely amateur; the acting in a formal sense is unpolished, but the ad-lib, instinctive gestures, asides and facial reactions are both superbly communicative and as accurate as a knife thrust.

The obvious thing to say about *The Magic Garden* is that its music has never been excelled on the screen. A lame boy playing inspired and, you would think, impossible variations on a cheap tin whistle is the Pied Piper of the sound track; there is a male quartet, a string trio and a body of men and women, young and old, stars and extras that sing and dance as nature intended. The music comes from the West—what we call jazz—but the musicians of Johannesburg claim prior ownership and put back into it the beat of their own heritage.

The form of the picture is that classic and infallible comic device, the interrupted chase; the plot develops along the narrative thread of a stolen packet of money which, passing through a number of hands, rewards the virtuous and punishes the wicked, until at the end it comes back to its owner. This is a simple tale and an old one; its virtue here is that it permits these street players to make witty, shrewd, sardonic comments on the values and deportment of South Africa's master race. The editorializing is not overt—this is no propaganda film—but the tomfoolery has a point and the laughter has a sting. It is funnier that way, and it stays with you longer.

The Small Back Room, made from Nigel Balchin's novel, demonstrates the unhappy result of telling two different kinds of story on one stretch of film.

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Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, a British writing-directing team that knows better, has attempted to combine the high melodrama of outwitting a German secret weapon (a booby trap that looks like a thermos bottle) with the purgatorial agonies of an alcoholic wrestling with the bottle. As a result, the suspense never pulls tight and the moral struggle is as inconclusive as a hangover. David Farrar is the bibulous special-weapons expert; Kathleen Byron is his patient girl. I wish someone had explained why the BBC didn't broadcast a general warning against picking up stray thermos bottles.

ROBERT HATCH

MUSIC

Metropolitan *Carmen*

HAVING RESTUDIED *Rigoletto* and streamlined *Aïda* earlier in the season, the Metropolitan Opera turned to a third bread-and-butter piece, Bizet's *Carmen*, on January 31. Rudolf Bing imported the English producer Tyrone Guthrie, who has staged several operas at Covent Garden and the Sadler's Wells Theatre, and gave him a free hand to work out, with the scenic designer Rolf Gerard, a modern treatment that would strip off the encrustations of tradition and allow the story to emerge as a valid and vital drama.

I am sure that Guthrie attacked his job with all the earnestness and sincerity in the world; he also achieved a good deal of success, if a stage director is successful merely because he makes the audience sit up and take notice. But he seemed never to have kept his mind on any one feature of the production for more than a few minutes at a time. It is a stew—"eclectic" is the two-dollar adjective—containing nearly every item in the well-stocked dramaturgical kitchen. The Moscow Art Musical Theatre devices of a generation ago (in the version called *Carmencita and the Soldier*) are in evidence in the first act, with its use of various eye levels and its static but "significant" groupings. So are reflections of the postwar German era that produced such low-life documents as *Wozzeck* and *The Three-Penny Opera*; in the first act (and only there) Risë Stevens, the Carmen, is a disheveled slum girl of singular, and typically Munich-1926, sordidness.

The tavern scene in the second act, with its gypsy dances and toreador song, is handled as chic entertainment in a vein somewhere between the Opéra-Comique and Busby Berkeley, with ballet boys straining up toward the table-top on which Frank Guarrera sings the song, as though he were Ida Rubinstein dancing Ravel's *Bolero*. The rest of the second act and all of the third act look much as they always have in every *Carmen* production, although I do not think the picture-book art of the setting for the smugglers' mountain hideout will continue to please those who find themselves looking at it for the next ten years.

In the last act Guthrie made a much-publicized break with tradition by dividing the continuous action into two scenes. The libretto places the action in a street outside the bull ring. The crowd hails the arrival of the toreador, accompanied by Carmen; when he goes into the arena to prepare for the fight, Carmen remains behind, to be confronted by the jealous Don José, and ultimately to be killed by him. Guthrie feels that the stabbing is more effective if it is confined in a room. He therefore eliminates the procession from the first part of the act, and shows the chorus as spectators looking out of large windows and constantly darting about to form different plastique-art groups.

Then, without any warrant from the score, the façade is lifted up into the flies and the stage becomes a third-class hotel room, or perhaps a very red greenroom in the stadium. Miss Stevens enters in the long-trained dinner dress she evidently wears to bullfights, and enacts the second act of *Tosca* until, by what actually seems a twist in plot once you start thinking of *Tosca*, she manages to get herself stabbed instead of stabbing Scarpia-Don José. The audience, apparently not realizing that it had seen part of the wrong opera, was greatly impressed by this final bit of staging. Some, however, were not even struck by its novelty, for they remembered that there had been the two-scene version at the City Center until, in 1949, it was wisely scrapped as impractical and unsuited to the construction of the musical score.

The *Carmen* production is damaging to Bing's reputation for artistic integrity. In view of the excellence of Herbert Graf's restaging of *Rigoletto* and Alfred Lunt's superficial but elegant stylization of *Così Fan Tutte*, it was not hard to forgive Margaret Webster's almost wholly meretricious dealings with *Aïda*. But by sponsoring also a version of *Carmen* in which opportunism supplants a genuine perception of stylistic unity, Bing strengthens the impression that he is willing to let a director do anything he wants, as long as the result titillates the public. *Aïda* at the Metropolitan is shallow and often meaningless; *Carmen* is cheap.

The principals in the *Carmen* performance had worked hard to realize the director's intentions, and they succeeded fairly well. Miss Stevens probably cannot be blamed for the fact that the slum-girl of the first act bore little relation to the glamor-girl of the second; nevertheless she might have tried to discover a few ways of using a constant vocabulary of gesture, posture and bodily movement. She might also have sung without darkening her voice so artificially that it sounded woolly and lacked carrying power. The best characterization was Guarrera's, as the toreador; it was, in fact, the only performance of the evening that was always consistent, believable and physically well-schooled. Nadine Conner suffered from Guthrie's conception of Micaela, the gentle peasant girl, as a high-school flirt. Richard Tucker, as Don José, acted like a tenor who has recently become convinced that it is important to be an actor.

The helter-skelter, catch-as-catch-can aspects of the staging were made the more conspicuous by the integrity of Fritz Reiner in the pit. Every tempo, every nuance was so completely germane to both the drama and the total musical context that it was impossible not to wonder whether anyone at any time had conducted *Carmen* better. CECIL SMITH

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LONDON LETTER

(Continued from page 16)

taken by Clement Attlee at the time of the MacArthur controversy. The Labourites are highly critical of Churchill's Congress speech, and in particular, of his reference to Formosa and the Korean truce talks. They believe (and one must confess that the American Press gives them every encouragement) that the "War with China" lobby is in the ascendancy and quote Admiral Fechteler to prove it. They want to know why Mr. Churchill seemed to go out of his way in Washington to encourage the supporters of Chiang Kai-shek and why, when he returned to London he should reverse engines and speak gravely of the risks of being drawn into "the wrong war, at the wrong time, at the wrong place." This was not statesmanship but salesmanship, commented Mr. Attlee tartly in what, for him, was an unusually waspish utterance.

It is important to emphasize at this point that some, if not all, of Labour's misgivings had been shared by most people over here. Winston, it was felt had been something less than discreet. And suggestions in responsible American newspapers that there had been a radical shift of British policy in the Far East naturally caused alarm and despondency in the Foreign Office. Second and more sober thoughts, however, suggest that the very last thing Churchill would wish to encourage in the Pentagon just now is a further diversion of Western military effort against China. After all, he had fought, and won, an almost identical battle with the American admirals during the late war. Europe, he had insisted, must receive first priority in allied strategy. Japan and the Pacific could wait.

From London this argument looked excessively simple and quite conclusive. It still does. No doubt from San Francisco or from any of the thousands of American homes who have lost their sons under the UN flag in Korea, the answer is not so easy—still less so in election year. Here certainly are the seeds of a serious disagreement between the two countries and many people felt that Mr. Attlee was on that account justified in demanding more specific assurances from the Prime Minister. On such a delicate but vital matter it is essential that each nation should know where the other stands. That knowledge may exist at the top military and diplomatic levels. It does not in Congress, Parliament or the Press.

The role of the "Bevanites" in this particular affair has been absurdly exaggerated. Mr. Bevan and his supporters are certainly the most vocal of Mr. Churchill's critics, and perhaps the most ready to believe the worst of the US. But there is not a shred of evidence of support the much publicized view that Bevan is at any moment liable to "capture" the leadership of the Labour Party —or even to dominate it from a back seat. The most important thing to remember about the Bevanites is that, at the most, they number 30 M.P.s, or about 10 percent of the opposition's effective strength. Their influence is considerable, largely because the group includes some of the most active and lively members of the Parliamentary Party. Five of them are top-rank political journalists, so that even if the Conservative press ignored them (which it doesn't) they would never be short of publicity. Moreover, their leader is acknowledged on all sides as a brilliant Parliamentarian whose talents shine at their brightest in opposition. Finally, the rank and file of party workers up and down the country are undoubtedly closer to Bevan than, say, Herbert Morrison.

But none of this adds up to a major split in the Labour ranks. The Bevanites are the direct descendants of the famous "Keep Left" group in the Labour administration of 1945—a group which never made much headway against the massive determination of Ernest Bevin. In opposition their influence is naturally greater but it is very far from being decisive. The seats of power are still firmly occupied by the "moderates"—the Attlees, Morrisons and Gaitskells. "Nye" Bevan and his followers remain as a highly organized, spirited and often valuable ginger group within the party. So long as Clement Attlee is in control, and perhaps for a good deal longer, they will never be anything more.

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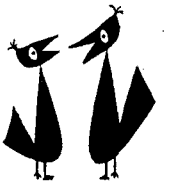

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